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I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XII, NO. 5 FEBRUARY 3, 1964 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

LBJ's One Big Happy Family

President Johnson's frenetic pace may be producing an epidemic of ulcers in the executive branch, where men work in terror of sudden midnight conference calls from the White House, but it has spread an extraordinary euphoria in the body politic. Nobody has ever chucked so many diverse interests under the chin in so short and swift a time, nobody has uttered just the right soothing phrase to so many contradictory anxieties. He may be a little vague on his current events, he may have the MLF confused (see adjoining box)—like many of us—with a cigarette slogan, his prose style at press conference may sometimes make Eisenhower's seem like Flaubert's, but he's putting on a performance that reflects a kind of genius. The most flabbergasting evidence, of course, is the latest Louis Harris poll which shows that Johnson has the overwhelming confidence of both Southern whites (two-thirds for him) and Negroes (three-fourths for him). If only Abraham Lincoln had done as well.

The Southern Oligarchs Behind LBJ

The Southern oligarchs are swinging into line behind Johnson. The sitdown strike on Capitol Hill seems to be over. Civil rights is coming out of Rules in the House. Byrd has speeded up the tax bill. Russell of Georgia, while deploring Johnson's stand for civil rights, makes a speech declaring, "In my opinion Johnson has the potential to become one of the country's great Presidents." Smathers of Florida in a speech at Birmingham struck the note on which the party will campaign in the South despite civil rights; he appealed to regional pride. "We in the South," he said, "can take pride and satisfaction in the leader of our party in 1964—the first man of the South to become President of the United States in 100 years—a great American—Lyndon B. Johnson." The years Johnson spent and the skills he acquired wooing Rayburn in the House and Russell in the Senate are paying off for Johnson. The changing attitude of the Southern leadership reflects a combination of flattery, persuasion, brass-tacks politics and deals already made. The fear that Goldwater may break up the one party system in the South, depriving the area of its seniority leverage in Congress, plays a major role. Then again, a Southern President may, as many of us hope, make civil rights more palatable to the South.

What Johnson has managed to do with Southern oligarchs and Negro leaders, he has also done with big business and labor, and with economizers and spenders. The spectacle is often ludicrous; the new President runs around the White House turning off lights and complains to visitors at receptions about the light bills. He pleases Russell and Byrd by pinching pennies everywhere while proclaiming "an all-out assault on poverty" (see p. 2) which is penny-ante stuff but raises hopes that must burst the budgetary seams. How long Johnson can keep this up without defaulting too openly and too soon on too many conflicting promissory notes remains to be seen. He is a tight-rope performer, and will be satisfied if he gets past November breathless but still in one piece.

One area of Johnsonian euphoria which does not seem to be as neatly balanced as the rest of his performance is in the field of peace and arms control. Those in the bureaucracy concerned with bringing the arms race under some control are full of new hope; the military are unhappy. Under Kennedy, the wraps were on; he had his test ban treaty and wanted to take no more political risks for peace until after November. A less energetic and a less vain man than Johnson

(Continued on Page Four)

Did No One Brief LBJ on MLF?

Q. Mr. President . . . there seems to be a wide divergence of views on the question of the multilateral force.

Mr. JOHNSON: On the question of what?

Q. On the multilateral force. [No reply.]

Q. The Soviet Union says that this is in contradiction to the pledge for non-dissemination of nuclear weapons. Thanks to your efforts and thanks to the efforts of Mr. Khrushchev the atmosphere seems to be pretty good. Do you think there can be a solution or compromise on this particular point?

Mr. JOHNSON: We are hoping, praying and working very hard to find some solution to all of our differences. Our viewpoint is that we are consistent in our position. Our general position is that we want to do anything that responsible men of conviction and good will can do to preserve peace. Mr. Foster [head of the US arms control agency] spent some hours with me before he left [for Geneva]. We thought we put forth an affirmative program and we welcome anyone who wants to join us.

—President Johnson's press conference Jan. 25.

"Foster told West German observer Lothar Lahn Wednesday that the U.S. will prevent negotiations on the multi-national force. A U.S. delegates' spokesman reiterated yesterday that the U.S. will not discuss the force in any way 'other than in terms of it being established American policy.' This could mean a deadlock on three of President Johnson's five points [in his message to Geneva]: The non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, a verified freeze of strategic nuclear delivery systems and a controlled halt in the production of fissionable materials."

—Associated Press ticker from Geneva, Jan. 23.

"'Would agreement be possible if West Germany were kept out of the multilateral force?' one newsman asked Tsarapkin. 'Without West Germany there would be no multilateral force,' he replied.

—Associated Press ticker from Geneva, Jan. 24. Except for the ticker we saw these items only in the pro-disarmament York, Pa., Gazette & Daily, Jan. 24 and 25. Why did no other AP papers use them?

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Comparing the Program For the Poor With The Profit Boosting Plan for The Rich

How to See That "All-Out War on Poverty" In Its Real Dimensions

There are several ways of looking at President Johnson's "all-out attack on the problem of poverty." The U.S., in his new budget, will spend somewhat more than $1 billion a week on the defense program. The President is asking something over $1 billion dollars in new obligational authority for his "all-out" war on poverty. If he spent it all in one year, he would be spending as much in one year to fight poverty as we will be spending in one week on armies and armaments.

Actually this $1 billion figure for the "all-out war" on poverty is for obligational authority, not expenditures. The budget itself shows only $200 million in expenditures for the "attack on poverty" during the next fiscal year. We will spend six times that amount next fiscal year on "military assistance," most of it to the doddering dictatorships we support in Asia.

How Higher Figures Are Obtained

Higher figures are obtained if one adds to this $200 million or $250 million (the latter figure appears in the special allowance section of the budget) for the "attack on poverty", another $100 million for Appalachia and something under $100 million for educational aid to "disadvantaged children." This adds up to $400 to $450 million but is referred to as $500 million for the attack on poverty. If one adds to this several miscellaneous existing programs including the Peace Corps and the Manpower Training Act, you get the round figure of $1 billion in actual expenditures next year for all kinds of welfare and anti-poverty measures, the figure used in the President's economic report.

Another crude but not too unfair way to measure the magnitude of the "all-out" war on poverty is provided by some figures in this economic report. It says there are 35 million men, women and children in our country whose annual income was only $590 as against $1,900 per capita for the nation as a whole. These 35 million are the poor. They need a wide variety of social services to put them on their feet. If that billion dollars were evenly distributed in one year among the 35 million, it would add a little less than $30 or about 60 cents more a week to their income. If you take the figure of $250 million for the new expenditures in the general assault on poverty, this adds up to 15 cents a week.

It is interesting to compare this with the handout to business. The Economic Report says corporate profits have risen 44 percent in the last three years, from a rate of $38½ billion in early '61 to $55 billion at the end of 1963 without counting $2½ billion in liberalized depreciation. To this, thanks to the tax cut, and economic stimulation, the Administration hopes to add $5 to $7 a year more. This closely follows Gospel—*to him who hath shall be given.*

Expanding Economy Not Enough

"What is crucially different about our high income economy is the fact that high rates of economic growth do not do away with poverty. Similarly it is now clear that significant rates of economic growth can be achieved without proportionate increase in the employment of human beings. We also know that even greater than historical rates of expansion in employment does not necessarily mean decreases in poverty. . . . Even were we to grant that achieving full employment means doing away with poverty, achieving full employment calls for a growth rate of about 10 percent per year sustained at least until 1975. . . . Policies aimed at the economic improvement of the total society and believed therefore to help the poor are of very limited use in the fight against poverty."

—Dr. Oscar Ornati, Prof. of Economics at the New School for Social Research, at the Georgetown Univ. "Poverty in Plenty" Conference, Wash., D.C. Jan. 23.

Gunnar Myrdal Sees The Negro "Rebellion" As Ending The Usual Apathy of U.S. Poor

"Poverty breeds poverty in a vicious circle. The whole milieu becomes degrading. This under-class has been, and is largely still, what I have been accustomed to call the world's least revolutionary proletariat. They don't organize themselves to press for their interests. The trade union movement comprises only about one-fourth of the workers, mostly its upper strata who, in the main, belong to the prosperous majority. To a relatively higher extent than normally they do not register and vote at elections—even apart from the large masses of Negroes in the South who are prevented from doing so. This fact is not unconnected with the other fact that in almost all respects—minimum wages, social security, agriculture, housing, etc.—American economic and social policies show a perverse tendency to favor those above the most needy groups.

"We have seen one important break in this empirical rule of the political apathy of the poor in America—the rebellion of the Negroes in Southern and Northern cities. It will not be enough to give the Negroes legal rights equal to the white majority and to enforce these rights. What will be needed are social sanctions to defend the Negroes' equal opportunities to employment against the resistance of trade unions more than employers. Even when all this is accomplished, the Negro masses will continue to suffer all the lasting effects of the disabilities of their poverty, their slum existence and their previous exclusion from easy access to education and training for good jobs.

"Neverthless I am convinced that the demand for a discrimination in reverse to the advantage of the Negroes is misdirected. Nothing would with more certainty create hatred for Negroes among other poor groups in America who have anyhow always mostly been their bitterest enemies as they have been the only ones who have felt them as competitors. Negro housing cannot very well be improved, except as part of a plan to improve the housing situation for poor peoples in general. The same is true of education. What America needs is a Marshall Plan to eradicate poverty. A rapid and steady economic growth is impossible without the productive power of the poor."

"The present unemployment cannot be cured merely by expansion. The additional means to the eradication of poverty is direct redistribution of incomes. The reforms include a redirection of agricultural policy to aid the petty farmers, tenants and agricultural workers; a change of the taxation system so that it is not as now regressive in the lower income brackets; redirection of the so-called urban renewal to provide also new housing for the poor; better health facilities; the broadening of the social security system for the unemployed, the families with many children, particularly those without a father, and the aged. In all these fields America is 'still lagging far behind' the most advanced among the other rich countries."

—Gunnar Myrdal (abridged) at the Georgetown Univ. Conference on Poverty in Plenty, Washington, D. C. Jan. 23.

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French Recognition Foreshadows Peking In UN and Rightist Drive Here to Withdraw

Is the CIA Trying to Whoop Up A White Man's Burden War for Us In Africa?

We suggest that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee look into a curious bit of journalism. On Friday, Jan. 24, the *Washington Evening Star* ran an 8-column scare headline, "U.S. Alerted On Coups in Africa", over a story datelined, mysteriously, Nairobi, Kenya, which gave it as the "sober estimate of senior diplomatic officials" there that the U.S. might have to intervene with military force to prevent a Communist take-over of East Africa. The story carried no byline; the *Star* has no regular correspondent in Nairobi. The style was early Wm. Randolph Hearst; such a takeover would be "of infinitely greater importance than the Communist attack on South Korea . . . more disastrous to the West than a Communist attack on West Berlin"; it followed the "Castroist" takeover in Zanzibar and "a preconceived pattern" set "by the Communist Chinese."

Another of Those Leaks?

That story seems to have provoked official protest. Next day the *Star* ran another front pager, this time headlined, "U.S. Discounts Africa Peril, Sees No Red Plot Evidence." Though the story the day before claimed to be based on "the sober estimate of senior diplomatic officials" which had been "transmitted to Washington", now we were informed that "both State and Defense Department sources emphasized that on the basis of reports reaching Washington they have not found any evidence of a Communist plot to overthrow the young regimes there." What, then, was the source of the earlier story? Was it another of those intelligence leaks for which two *Star* staff members have become notorious? Is the CIA trying to whoop up a "white man's burden" war for us in Africa?

Though you'd never guess it from the State Department, de Gaulle is hardly a pioneer in recognizing Peking. France is the 49th country and the sixth U.S. ally to open relations with Communist China.* Former Premier Edgar Faure, whose mission to Peking paved the way for de Gaulle's action, spoke of the move with eloquent idealism on a French telecast to Europe (*Le Monde*, Jan. 19-20). He said none of the three great questions "on which all our lives depend", peaceful co-existence, disarmament and the progress of the underdeveloped countries, could be solved without the country which represents "nearly one-fourth of humanity. . . . The problem of peaceful co-existence with Russia," M. Faure said, "is on its way to solution. It is necessary that we apply peaceful co-existence to China, or rather that we bring about the entrance of China into the system of peaceful co-existence, and persuade her to choose that as her policy." French recognition brings Peking's admission to the United Nations closer, and U.S. public opinion should be prepared for that, lest it lead to a campaign here for our withdrawal from the UN.

The Other War in Vietnam

"The U.S. Army and the U.S. Air Force are secretly fighting one of the most bitter wars in Washington history. . . . The Army wants to build a huge air force of its own and the Air Force is battling to stop it. . . . Instead of old-fashioned slow-paced artillery, the Army intends to try aerial firepower . . . integrated with fast-moving infantry. . . . Some of these new Army theories are being tested in combat against the Communist guerrillas in South Vietnam. . . . Air Force experts . . . maintained that the Army is in no hurry to win the war in South Vietnam. 'Out in Saigon, our Army officers secretly refer to South Vietnam as 'the laboratory', one Air Force officer told me. . . . The Army is answering in kind. Not long ago Lt. Col. John Paul Vann, Ret., a former U.S. Army adviser charged in a public interview that Air Force fighter planes have killed more innocent civilians than enemy guerrillas."

—This Week magazine, Jan. 5.

*** Peking has been recognized by 5 U.S. allies—Britain, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Pakistan; 4 European neutrals—Finland, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia; 8 Asian countries—Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Laos and Nepal; 5 Middle Eastern countries—Iraq, Israel, Egypt, Syria and Yemen; 14 African countries—Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Barundi, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, Senegal, Tanganyika and Zanzibar; 11 Soviet States and one Latin American country—Cuba. Mexico may be next.**

New Zanzibar Revolutionary Regime Denies Aid Either From Cuba or From Mars

Nairobi, Kenya, Jan. 21—Two leaders of Zanzibar's revolutionary government today denied that Cuba or any other foreign power was involved in the revolution which toppled this island's previous government last week.

Foreign Minister Abdul Rahman Mohamad Babu and Vice President Abdullah Kassim Honga, who arrived here yesterday for talks with the Kenya Cabinet issued a statement before leaving today to return home. "We want to state categorically the revolution in Zanzibar is purely a Zanzibar affair," the statement said. "There was not a single man either from Cuba or from Mars. The motives behind the revolution are simply the motives of oppressed people rising against the oppressor and are entirely disconnected with any international movement."

—Reuters press service, Jan. 21.

Q. Is there any comment, or have you any information about the training of African students in Cuba for guerrilla activities?

A. African students have for some time been receiving scholarships for various kinds of training from the USSR, various satellite countries and from nations in the free world. Of African students going abroad for training a relatively small number,including some from Zanzibar have been or are in Cuba. We have no indication that there is any extensive number of students from other parts of Africa going to Cuba for training. While some Zanzibari, who have been in Cuba, participated in the recent revolt, it would be an exaggeration to say that the recent coup in Zanzibar resulted primarily from the efforts of a Cuban trained element. The Afro-Shizari party—

Q. How do you spell that?

A. Afro-Shizari party which is now in power in Zanzibar and which polled 54 percent of the vote in the last election has long resented the dominance of a minority group represented by the Zanzibar Nationalist Party. This, with some other factors, appears to be the cause of the revolt in Zanzibar.

—State Department briefing, Jan. 23.

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Suppose Moscow Proposed An MLF With Ulbricht's Finger on The Trigger

(Continued from Page One)

might have been content to rest on Kennedy's record. But in this field, as in others, he wants results. Just as he wants a tax bill and a civil rights bill, no matter much what is in them, so he wants some disarmament or arms control agreement of some kind, no matter what, as some step forward to which he can point in the campaign. Another factor, not to be overlooked, is that the economy-minded Southern conservatives are worried about mounting arms costs. So the arms control and disarmament agency, which had been in the doldrums, was ordered to produce something for the White House soon after Johnson took over. The Khrushchev appeal for no forcible changes in boundaries was answered more positively than the dominant elements in State Department wanted it to be; the Johnson reply, after being worked on by so many hands, was a sloppy jumble, at one point incomprehensible, but not entirely negative.

Arms Controllers Encouraged

The Johnson 5-point message to the Geneva arms conference is regarded by those who worked on it inside the bureaucracy as a major break-through. They derive their enthusiasm from point 2 where Johnson asked Soviet agreement "to explore a verified freeze of the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive vehicles." This reflects an alliance between the arms controllers and McNamara against the Joint Chiefs of Staffs; it was worked up without being put through the mill of the famous Committee of Principals which includes all agencies concerned and is guaranteed by its nature to grind out nothing at all. The word "explore", which reduced this to study rather than agreement, is said to have been inserted to soften the blow for a reluctant Joint Chiefs of Staff. The word "defensive" is a key word, for a freeze would prevent a sharp escalation in the arms race through the production and placement of billion dollar anti-missile systems buttressed by astronomically expensive shelters against blast as well as fallout. It would ask the Russians to accept inferiority, as in the nuclear test ban treaty, in return for some brake on the arms race. The hitch is that, unlike the treaty, it also requires "verification." What looks like a break-through in the stale atmosphere of inter-agency deadlock in Washington may only look like another U.S. ploy at Geneva, the beginning of another round in the interminable argument about inspection.

Last November Gromyko agreed to freeze a minimum deterrent until the last stage of general and complete disarmament. The Poles are asking a freeze on nuclear weapons in Central Europe. Can a dialogue be developed between these ideas of a freeze and ours? The obstacle to a freeze, as to our proposals for non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, is the multi-lateral nuclear NATO force, with a German finger on the trigger. If positions were reversed, we would think the Russians swindlers if they proposed to freeze delivery systems but make some available to a joint satellite force in which Ulbright played the key role; if they asked us not to give nuclear weapons to our allies, while *they* thus proposed to give some to theirs. *Jan. 28.*

Salute to A Prodigal Son

A forgotten story, which indicates the healthy improvement in atmosphere since McCarthy's day, deserves attention in the unanimous decision of the Federal Communications Commission granting Pacifica's application for license renewals in Berkeley, New York and Los Angeles. This was a defeat for Senator Dodd and the Internal Security Committee. They have done their best to smear this independent network. It was also a fundamental decision in favor of freedom on radio and TV, declaring that to give too much weight to complaints against "provocative programming" would allow "only the bland, the inoffensive" on the air. "No such drastic curtailment," the seven Commissioners ruled, "can be countenanced under the Constitution" One of the seven was Robert E. Lee, who concurred, objecting only to bad taste in one program on homosexuals. Lee is the ex-FBI man J. Edgar Hoover loaned in 1945 to a House committee which began the postwar witch hunt against Federal employes and supplied McCarthy with his original list in 1950. Lee, as the Weekly protested Oct. 17, 1953, won his job on the FCC through the backing of McCarthy and Hearst (who then got the Milwaukee Channel 10 he wanted). Lee has, however, made an honorable record on the FCC and we salute his turn to liberalism.

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5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
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Newspaper

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except in August at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

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